



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

lost at sea on the return trip. Of the few that were preserved, five are reproduced in the volume. Of these, a view of the city of San Francisco in 1850 is especially interesting. A map showing Audubon's route is added.

EDWIN E. SPARKS.

*A Political History of the State of New York.* By DEALVA STANWOOD ALEXANDER. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1906. Two volumes, 1774-1832, 1833-1861; pp. x, 405; vi, 444.)

THIS work is almost the sole possessor of a very attractive field of study. Its only predecessor in the attempt to portray the whole panorama of political history in the state of New York is Jabez D. Hammond's old-fashioned and hopelessly inadequate work. Hammond's last volume, devoted to the biography of Silas Wright, does not quite reach the middle point of the nineteenth century. Our author interprets his title literally. Although the Revolution did not break the continuity of local party development, the political history of the colony of New York is ignored. To the closely balanced party strife during the initial stages of the Revolution he makes only a few confused and confusing allusions in his introductory chapter. John Lamb, probably the most influential of the four principal leaders of the Liberty party in the city, is not even named. Into the same oblivion has fallen William Mooney, the chief founder of the Tammany Society. With the second chapter the curtain rises at once upon the adoption of the constitution of 1777, and the inauguration of the first elected governor of the state upon the historic barrel in front of Kingston courthouse.

The author's plan of composition is indicated in these sentences from the preface to the first volume: "Indeed, the history of a State or Nation is largely the history of a few leading men, and it is of such men only, with some of their more prominent contemporaries, that the author has attempted to write. . . . Rarely more than two controlling spirits appear at a time, and, as these pass into apogee, younger men of approved capacity are ready to take their places."

This theory enables the author to follow rather closely in Hammond's track, although he avoids the dreary verbiage of the elder author, and makes good use of biographies and memoirs relating to the characters who sustain the constant duel in the centre of his stage. Three hundred and forty out of the four hundred and five pages in the first volume are devoted to the personal fortunes of the two Clintons on the one side, and to the long succession of their opponents on the other, Schuyler, Hamilton, Burr, the Livingston clan, Tompkins, Van Buren and the Albany Regency. The last fifty pages contain a rapid review of events from 1828 to 1834, setting the scenery for the next great duel between "two controlling spirits", Martin Van Buren and Thurlow Weed.

In the second volume the first seven chapters describe the leadership of Van Buren, Marcy, Wright and Croswell against the famous firm of Seward and Weed, to which Greeley was now to be added—and with

which Fillmore acted—down to Van Buren's overthrow in the Baltimore convention of 1844. Seven more chapters continue the same story down to 1854, and show how Van Buren and Seward each split his own party over the issue of Southern domination. Fifteen chapters are devoted to the fusion of various political elements into the Republican party, 1854-1861. This metamorphosis was more gradual in New York than in most states. The description of the transformation and of the corresponding re-alignments in the Democratic party shows the author at his best. His theory of the overwhelming importance of personality in history helps to enrich these pages with thoughtful analyses of the leadership on both sides, of Seward, Weed, Greeley, Raymond, Governors Morgan and Fenton, G. W. Curtis, D. D. Field, James S. Wadsworth and the Kings, and also of Horatio Seymour, Dean Richmond, John A. Dix, Greene C. Bronson, Amasa J. Parker, Fernando Wood and Daniel S. Dickinson.

In the preface the author promises a third volume that will bring the story down to 1896. As his second volume is much better written and more carefully studied than his first, we are disposed to look hopefully toward the third, which will deal with events in which the author has himself borne a share. He writes usually with clearness and force, although occasionally capable of freaks of phraseology that are either ludicrous or awkward. In the former case, witness the description of Hon. John Taylor (I. 196) who "moved around the Senate chamber, his tall spare form bending like a wind-swept tree". In the latter case this extraordinary sentence about George Clinton may be cited (I. 197). "If he left behind him a memory of long service which had been lived to his own advantage, it was by no means lived to the disadvantage of his country or his State".

The author seems to be unaware that recent revelations of the Clinton correspondence have revived the ancient accusation that George Clinton profited secretly by the sale of public lands. Certainly the man who would steal a governorship would not be likely to refuse an opportunity to share a public contract. The politics of New York city is, in these volumes, reduced to comparative insignificance. The author keeps his gaze fixed on the succession of executive officers at Albany. There is no coherent account of the development and influence of Tammany Hall. Strangest of all is the virtual elimination of Tammany from this account of the decade 1850-1860. Mozart Hall is named only in a foot-note, and although Fernando Wood himself is put under the microscope there is no attempt to analyze the political elements that, locally, supported or opposed him. Scant attention is given to any political force not proceeding directly from some "controlling spirit", though Anti-Masonry, through its connection with Weed and Seward, fares better than Anti-Rent, or the Equal Rights (Locofoco) faction in the metropolis.

These volumes will have small value for the special student of New York politics, but they are capable of rendering a real service to the

general reader until the time when a more thorough and comprehensive study of this subject shall appear.

*The Electoral System of the United States.* By J. HAMPDEN DOUGHERTY. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1906. Pp. iv, 425.)

MR. DOUGHERTY'S volume belongs to the class of books with a purpose. Its object is to show, by means of a detailed study of the workings, from the beginning, of the provisions of the Federal Constitution in regard to the election of President and Vice-president, the imperative need of amending those provisions; the author's views regarding the needed changes, indicated from time to time as the discussion proceeds, being embodied at the end in a carefully drawn and elaborate proposition of amendment. The work falls, accordingly, into two parts: one, a critical survey of the history of the electoral system, important for the student of politics and constitutional law; the other, a proposal of change which, however sensible or practicable, has primary interest for the statesman or political scientist rather than for the historian.

While we cannot but think that Mr. Dougherty's work would have profited by condensation, particularly in its summaries of the opinions of members of Congress, its historical merits are both sound and considerable. So far as he has gone, his work is not likely to need doing over again. Although the primary authorities are seldom directly cited, the text shows that the main reliance has been upon the journals and debates of Congress, with the occasional addition of the statutes and court decisions. Secondary authorities, save now and then a magazine article, are rarely referred to.

After a brief introduction setting forth the need of amending the electoral system, Mr. Dougherty proceeds at once to examine the electoral provisions of the Constitution, with the debates attending them, and the law of 1792 fixing the time and place for the meeting of the electors and providing for the presidential succession. Two succeeding chapters survey the problems which developed from 1793 to 1857 in connection with the electoral count—problems which showed an irreconcilable difference of opinion in Congress as to the seat of final authority in counting, but which were to wait yet thirty years for statutory treatment. The elections from 1860 to 1872 emphasized the danger involved in disputed or defective returns, and demonstrated that "either the Constitution had proven faulty or Congress had for years shirked its duty in failing to pass any general law to regulate the count" (p. 85). The great contest of 1876-1877 and the electoral count act of 1887 are treated at much length, more than a third of the volume being allotted to this part of the subject. Mr. Dougherty pronounces the much-praised act of 1887 a "quagmire" (p. 246), and the term is not too strong; for not only does the act assume to give to Congress an unwarranted power over the count, but it also fails to provide for the settlement of some of the